# What Anthropologists Do

SECOND EDITION



Veronica Strang



## What Anthropologists Do

Why should you study anthropology? How will it enable you to understand human behaviour? And what will you learn that will equip you to enter working life?

This book describes what studying anthropology actually means in practice, and explores the many career options available to those trained in anthropology. Anthropology gets under the surface of social and cultural diversity to understand people's beliefs and values, and how these guide the different lifeways that they create. This accessible book presents a lively introduction to the ways in which anthropology's unique research methods and conceptual frameworks can be employed in a very wide range of fields, from environmental concerns to human rights, through business, social policy, museums and marketing. This updated edition includes an additional chapter on anthropology and interdisciplinarity.

This is an essential primer for undergraduates studying introductory courses to anthropology, and any reader who wants to know what anthropology is about.

**Veronica Strang** is a Professor of Anthropology and the Director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Durham University, and is affiliated to the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography at Oxford University. From 2013–2017 she was the Chair of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth. Her publications include *Uncommon Ground: cultural landscapes and environmental values* (1997); *The Meaning of Water* (2004); *Gardening the World: agency, identity and the ownership of water* (2009); *Ownership and Appropriation* (2010); *Water: nature and culture* (2015); and *From the Lighthouse: interdisciplinary reflections on light* (2018). More information about her work can be found at www.veronicastrang.com/.



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Second edition published 2021 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN and by Routledge 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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First edition published by Bloomsbury 2009

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Strang, Veronica, author.

Title: What anthropologists do / Veronica Strang.

Description: Second Edition. | New York : Routledge, 2021. |

"First edition published by Routledge 2009"--T.p. verso. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020049492 | ISBN 9781350099357 (Hardback) |

ISBN 9781350099340 (Paperback) | ISBN 9781003087908 (eBook)

Subjects: LCSH: Anthropology--Vocational guidance.

Anthropology--Research. | Anthropology--Methodology.

Classification: LCC GN41.8 .S77 2021 | DDC 301.023--dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020049492

ISBN: 978-1-350-09935-7 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-350-09934-0 (pbk) ISBN: 978-1-003-08790-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo by Taylor & Francis Books

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## Acknowledgements

The original edition of this book arose from discussions between the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth and the Royal Anthropological Institute, who recognised that school leavers know little about what anthropologists do, or about the huge potential for interesting (and viable) careers that studying anthropology provides. Many potential research users also remain unsure about what anthropology can offer. As a result of these discussions Berg's managing director, Kathryn Earle, asked me to collect a range of examples and describe these in a form accessible to a younger audience. This proved to be an intriguing project, enabling me to discover what colleagues around the world were doing in areas of research far removed from my own. The recent request to update What Anthropologists Do has allowed me to see how opportunities for anthropologists to pursue diverse and rewarding careers have expanded considerably in the last decade. Many anthropology associations and journals have again circulated requests for information, and the Australian Anthropological Society was particularly generous in sharing the results of its extensive survey on anthropological careers. I am most grateful for this support.

Particular thanks should go to two people who assisted this project directly. The first edition benefited from the work of my New Zealand research assistant, Mira Taitz, who did a sterling job collecting diverse examples of anthropological careers. This edition has gained from the equally stellar efforts of my UK research assistant, Joanna Puckering, without whose dedicated work the task of revising the text would probably have remained on my 'to do' list until my retirement. I would also like to thank the University of Auckland and Durham University, who provided funding to support their respective endeavours.

Thanks must also go to the helpful and enthusiastic anthropologists who were kind enough to send in accounts of their experiences, as well as providing the images for this volume. And I am also appreciative of the input from several reviewers, who kindly read the original volume and made helpful suggestions about new or expanded sections in this one.

#### x Acknowledgements

Over the years *What Anthropologists Do* seems to have made it into many introductory courses and career offices. I hope that this edition will similarly encourage students to embark upon or continue their studies in anthropology, as well as reassuring anxious parents that it can open the door to many useful (and exciting) career directions.

#### Introduction

#### What do anthropologists do?

'What anthropologists do' seems to be a bit of a mystery to many people, and there are several reasons for this. One is that anthropologists are involved in such a wide variety of things that the most accurate answer to the question 'what do they do?' is 'just about anything that involves understanding human social behaviour'. Another is that people's ideas about anthropology are often gleaned from portrayals in literature, film and television, which favour dramatic stereotypes: pith-helmet-wearing colonial adventurers living with (equally stereotypical) 'hidden tribes' in the jungle; crime-busting forensic anthropologists (who always find the murderer); or bearded, sandals-with-socks obsessives going bonkers somewhere in the outback (MacClancy 2005; Weston et al. 2015).

I think that we need to challenge these stereotypes for several reasons: because the facts are more interesting than the fiction; because, in an ever more complex world, anthropology has a vital contribution to make; and because, contrary to the stereotypes, anthropological training is immensely applicable in a very wide variety of careers. So the purpose of this book is to describe what anthropologists actually do, with examples from a range of areas. It is not a comprehensive account: just a brief introduction to the kind of work that anthropologists undertake, and the multiple directions open to practitioners. Other introductory texts are listed in the resources section.

It is probably useful to start by talking about what anthropology is. The broadest definition is that it is a social science that involves the study of human groups and their behaviour: their interactions with each other, and with the material environment. Most anthropologists study contemporary societies or smaller groups within them, although in some countries anthropology also includes archaeology and the study of past societies. It sits alongside related social sciences like sociology (which tends to be more quantitative), and psychology (which focuses more on individuals).

Anthropology itself is a very broad discipline with large sub-disciplinary areas. The largest ones are social and cultural anthropology, but there are other major areas including political anthropology, economic anthropology, linguistic anthropology, the anthropology of religion, primatology, evolutionary and

biological anthropology, legal anthropology, forensic anthropology, medical anthropology and my own field, environmental anthropology. There are other 'offshoots' too, crossing into development studies, social policy, cognitive science, ethnohistory or historical anthropology, museum curation and studies of art, material culture, photography, film and other media. And, as a glance at the diverse list of contents for this book illustrates, there is a host of smaller, more specialised areas focusing, for example, on governance and the state, kinship, migration, gender studies, education, and urban anthropology.

What unites this diversity? Anthropology has several key characteristics: it is holistic, placing whatever behaviour it is examining within its social and environmental context, and considering the range of cultural beliefs and practices that direct people's activities. It is largely qualitative, recognising that most of these things are not readily measurable. It aims to be 'in-depth', getting under the surface of social life to make its underlying dynamics visible. It engages fully with the complexities of human 'being'.

In effect, 'what anthropologists do' is try to understand and represent the realities of particular cultural and sub-cultural worldviews, encapsulating their key features and underlying principles, in order to 'make sense' of human behaviour. They try to do this in such a way that this understanding can be communicated cross-culturally, acting as a translatory bridge between groups whose beliefs, values and practices may be completely different.

Anthropological research generally involves working with a host group or community to create an 'ethnography'. This can be described as a portrait of that group and its dynamics, which is usually in text form, although some anthropologists also use visual media. Most ethnographies contain a set of core elements: the composition of the group; its history; its ways of making a living in a particular environment; its social and political institutions; its belief systems and values. A good way to imagine this ethnographic portrait is that the particular issue the anthropologist is studying will be in the foreground, in detail, but the contextualising elements that shape how people live will be there too, as an explanatory background (see Pawluch et al. 2005).

An ethnography is the result of the two key things that underpin any science: theory and method. Like other sciences, anthropology has, over many years, developed a set of theoretical principles. Being part of an ongoing international and intercultural scientific 'conversation', these are always moving forward, increasing our understanding. Again like other sciences, anthropology is fundamentally comparative: we compare different social and cultural groups and, by examining their differences and similarities, we are able to tackle broader questions about human beings and the patterns of behaviour that they share.

Anthropology theories have been described in various ways: for example, by James Peacock (2001) as a 'lens' that helps to bring human life into focus. As a keen scuba diver, I tend to think of the in-depth immersion of ethnographic research as a way of seeing under the surface. Theories are also presented as a sort of 'tool kit' for analysis, and that's quite a good analogy too, as it underlines the reality that theory is a practical thing: a set of useful 'idea tools' that

help us to open up what is often regarded as the 'black box' of human behaviour. Peter Kreeft suggests that a capacity for clear analysis also requires the logical thinking skills enabled by philosophical anthropology (2007).

Any sensible analysis requires data, and anthropology is fundamentally empirical, in that it relies on data collected 'in the field'. Let me have another swipe at the stereotypes here, and say that 'in the field' doesn't have to be somewhere far away, or even somewhere else. As anyone who has travelled will know, being a long way from home is certainly useful, in terms of coming into contact with (and being able to compare) very different perspectives on life. But highly diverse social groups and cultural ideas can also be found on the doorstep, and there are many anthropologists for whom 'the field' is at home, working with particular communities, sub-cultural groups, organisations or networks.

While 'going into the field' to work with communities, either in far-off places or close to home, remains central to anthropological practice, contemporary technologies have also expanded ethnography into less tangible domains. Increasingly people inhabit not only local places, but also social and professional networks maintained via digital media (Horst and Miller 2012). Daniel Miller's research in an English hospice (2015) and Faye Ginsburg's exploration of how people with disabilities use the internet (2012) illustrate the need to consider not only where people are located but also how – particularly in situations where they feel isolated – they make use of multiple forms of communication to connect with others. dana boyd, a principal researcher at Microsoft Research, has considered how social media affect the lives of American teenagers: 'Teens are passionate about finding their place in society. What is different as a result of social media is that teens' perennial desire for social connection and autonomy is now being expressed in networked publics' (2014: 8).

As social media platforms such as Facebook have become an increasingly essential part of daily social and professional life all over the world, Steffan Dalsgaard observes that they have simultaneously become platforms for much ethnographic research: 'For those who study online cultural phenomena, social media and the relationships mediated by these media have come to constitute field-sites in their own right' (2016: 96; see also Pink et al. 2016). With the advent of virtual reality technology, it has even become possible for ethnographers to enter and explore virtual worlds such as Second Life. Tom Boellstorff emphasises the 'reality' of interactions, places and meaning-making for the inhabitants of such worlds, and the need to study virtual environments on their own terms (2015). Underlining the potential for forms of enquiry less grounded in a physical location, but which still draw on the tenets of ethnography, Jeremy Aroles describes 'digital nomadism' and new ways of working, playing and belonging in increasingly virtual communities. He describes a year-long study of one particular MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role Playing Game), League of Angels, which involved joining various guilds (both English- and Frenchspeaking) on different servers, conducting phases of participant observation, and visiting forums as well as other associated pages on the game, to consider ideas about belonging within a virtual community (2018: 423-4). Virtual communities

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also make their own social and political arrangements; for example, Oskar Milik's research into online gaming found that:

EVE Online grants individuals the anonymity and freedom to act in any way they wish, going so far as to encourage and reward in-game criminal behavior toward other players. This design might lead some to expect anarchy within this digital universe. Instead, this virtual world is highly ordered, containing large organisations led by powerful leaders.

(2017:764)

As well as providing access to new, virtual worlds, digital technologies have also affected how anthropologists engage in public scholarship. Amy Johnson points to the new opportunities that social media present in widening access to research findings and opening these up to scholarly debate and criticism with both other scholars, and with the participants in the research (2015). Martijn de Koning, for example, looks at how blogs can assist anthropological outreach:

Although the writing on blogs is often not as precise and nuanced as in texts in peer-reviewed academic journals and books, the accessible format and style of blogging allows others who are not familiar with academic work to engage with the research. Preliminary ideas can be shared, one's own questions about particular phenomena might be answered, methodological issues can be discussed, and so on.

(2013: 395)

#### **Employing anthropology**

Anthropologists are supported in their work in a variety of ways. Some are employed by universities, and therefore combine teaching with research. Both of these activities are important to universities, and most hope that their academic staff will devote their time fairly equally to both. In reality, most university-based anthropologists probably spend a higher proportion of their time teaching and doing administration, but they are still expected to keep up with what is going on in their field, and to conduct research. At a tertiary level, there is (or should be) a symbiotic relationship between teaching and research, with original research findings feeding into the curriculum. This ensures that students receive teaching that is intellectually fresh and up to date.

For anthropologists who like teaching and can tolerate the (considerable) administrative demands of university life, an institutional post has some advantages. The teaching itself is often very rewarding; a good academic department provides a lively and supportive intellectual environment and – with luck – congenial colleagues; and, where tenure or long-term contracts are available, there is a greater degree of security than may be provided by more independent career paths. Universities often provide some financial support for research, or at least regular sabbatical time to enable bursts of

research activity, and university-employed anthropologists also write research proposals and compete for funding from national or international funding bodies. Most countries have a research council, and there are other (national and international) funding bodies, such as the Royal Anthropological Institute or the Wenner-Gren Foundation, whose aim is to support original research in the discipline.

Some university-based anthropologists also do consultancy work, and some combine part-time teaching posts with other forms of employment or freelance research. As the case studies in this book illustrate, anthropological CVs tend to reflect multiple ways to make use of anthropological training, and there is considerable scope for people to shape their careers in accord with their particular interests and preferences.

Although teaching is an obvious avenue of employment for anyone trained in a scientific discipline, there are probably greater numbers of anthropologists either employed as full-time researchers or working as freelancers for government departments, non-governmental organisations, charities, industries, legal bodies, indigenous communities and so forth. There are significant advantages to employment outside the academy: an ability to focus on research (rather than spending a large proportion of time on teaching and administrative duties); the opportunity to follow specific areas of interest – for example, in politics, health, or development; and, of course, independence from the strictures of institutional employment.

Given the increasing emphasis on 'employability' in higher education, it is worth noting that anthropology graduates bring a strong range of skills to the labour market. Surveys by anthropology associations demonstrate the breadth of the areas in which these skills are now being used (Ellick and Watkins 2016; Maud 2015).

The World Council of Anthropology Associations recently conducted a survey (McGrath et al. 2018) which drew responses from nearly 4000 anthropologists. It offered the following information:

- There are more women than men practising anthropology, with a roughly 60:40 ratio
- Men only outnumbered women in the oldest (70+) age group, suggesting a feminising shift in the discipline
- Nearly 60% of the respondents held a PhD in anthropology, and 25% a master's degree
- Anthropologists are most numerous in the Americas and across Europe and the UK, but there are also high levels of mobility in the discipline
- Expertise was well distributed around the globe with respondents reporting research in about fifty different countries, and many working both 'at home' and in other geographic locations
- Universities are the major employer of anthropologists, with nearly 50% of the respondents citing an HE institution as their primary employer

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- Other key areas of employment included (local, regional and State) Government agencies; domestic and international NGOs and development agencies; independent research institutes; museums and galleries; professional societies; mining and energy companies
- A substantial number of respondents were self-employed and/or working as consultants
- When asked about the thematic focus of their work, the respondents reported interests in over a thousand different areas

The top six activities on which people were spending substantial proportions of their time reflected the high levels of employment in universities:

- Teaching (undergraduate)
- Field research
- Writing for peer review publications
- Desktop/archival research
- Meetings (internal)
- Academic administration

Time was also spent convening, organising and presenting at conferences, and peer reviewing colleagues' funding proposals and publications. Although the focus of university-based anthropologists was on research and teaching, people also reported a range of external-facing activities, including advocacy in relation to social and environmental issues; engagement with communities and stakeholder groups; policy development; mediation and conflict resolution; and involvement in design and urban planning.

#### Conducting research

However anthropologists make a living, they have a responsibility, not only to their employers or sponsors, but also to anthropology as a discipline, in terms of maintaining professional standards, academic independence and ethical principles. Work with different cultural communities raises a host of ethical issues about power relations and consent; the collection of medical or cultural information; or material culture. Ethics are therefore central to practitioners' relationships with the groups or communities in which they conduct research (see Caplan 2003; Fluehr-Lobban 2003; Turner 2012). Professional anthropology associations expect their members to conform to detailed and rigorous codes of practice, which ensure that the interests of the host group or community are carefully protected throughout the research. Such professional codes also form part of teaching in anthropology, ensuring that students are fully prepared for work in a range of occupational sectors (Briody and Pester 2014).

Across diverse sectors, anthropological research is therefore designed with two key questions in mind: 'How will this research produce new knowledge that answers a particular question?' and 'How will it benefit the group in which it is conducted, and society in general?' In many cases, the host group is involved in the research design from the beginning. At the very least, there will be a process of asking permission from them; of seeking input on the proposed work; and of getting feedback on the research findings as these emerge. This longstanding concern to ensure benefit to host communities has merged with more recent policy requirements to consider the 'impact' of research, which has had significant influence upon funding policies in the UK (Green 2016a; Jarman and Bryan 2015; Page and Strathern 2016; Stein 2018).

Many anthropologists maintain long-term relationships with communities, returning regularly to extend earlier research, or to do new projects. As well as allowing researchers to develop long-term and productive collaborations with individuals and groups, these lengthy relationships also permit shorter research projects, building on accumulated background ethnographic data. In many professional contexts, the realities of research funding do not permit lengthy fieldwork, and anthropologists have to build on former (or other people's) datasets and experience. Nevertheless, the major objective is still to create as complete a picture as possible, so that the research question is always given an ethnographic context that will help to explain what is going on.

Anthropologists tend to collect a lot of data, and it is this meticulous depth and detail that gives strong foundations to their analyses. Preliminary literature reviews can take many weeks, and it is common for fieldwork to take from six months to a year. In a sense, anthropology is the 'slow food' of the social sciences, because it tends to be quite painstaking and cannot be 'whipped up' instantly. Fortunately, this willingness to be thorough generally pays off, providing genuine and useful insights into human behaviour.

Ethnographic data are collected in a variety of ways. A core method is 'participant observation', which – as its name implies – involves participating in the everyday life of the host community, and carefully observing and recording events. The other major method is to conduct interviews with individuals and groups, and this usually means a mixture of long in-depth interviews and shorter, more opportunistic ones. Interviews might be formal (with a specific list of issues to explore) or more exploratory and informal. Ethnographers often interview people a number of times, and spend a lot of time with them, in particular those members of the host group willing to work collaboratively on the research.

Fieldwork is followed by a process of analysis, which means organising the data coherently and employing theory to make sense of the picture that emerges. This can take a while too: there will be a lot of data to consider and there are no easy answers. Humans are complex, and while biological and ecological factors may play a part, behaviour is greatly complicated by social and cultural complexities. The art of producing a good ethnographic account is to crystallise the issues succinctly but not to reduce them to the point where they cease to be meaningful, and to leave sufficient explanatory context so that it is possible to see consistent patterns, to understand what is going on, and thus

to offer practical, helpful insights that can be applied to the problems and challenges that people face.

Many people assume that anthropology divides into 'applied' or 'engaged' work (by which they usually mean research with an intended practical outcome taking place outside the academy), or more 'theoretical' and scholarly work, which supposedly takes place in the 'ivory tower' of a university. There are various societies of 'applied anthropologists', and these are immensely helpful and supportive to practitioners who freelance, or whose institutional base does not contain many anthropological colleagues. However, although this applied/theoretical dichotomy is a functional shorthand, it is a little misleading. It encourages an assumption that 'ivory tower' research and the development of theory is rather exclusive, disengaged and not very practical, and that anthropologists working elsewhere are somehow 'outside' the main part of the discipline, and not contributing to its scholarly development.

My own view is that both of these assumptions are wrong. Good 'applied' research, wherever it is based, requires a strong theoretical framework and a rigorous 'academic' approach; and theoretical development itself is greatly strengthened by information gleaned directly from empirical data (based on evidence) and field experience. The nature of anthropological research, with its grassroots focus and its immediate involvement with human communities, is very grounded in any case. So however esoteric a research question may seem, understanding 'why people do what they do' always has some practical value, and even seemingly abstract research generates ideas and proposes new theories that – if they are robust – will filter, through wider discourse, into practice.

In essence, the process of anthropological research entails the following steps (although probably in a much less neatly defined order, with lots of feedback loops and sidetracks):

- Designing: outlining the research question and the aims of the research
- Seeking funds: writing grant proposals
- Reviewing: trawling the theoretical and ethnographic literature to see what has been done on the research topic to date
- Defining and refining: developing the project aims and hypotheses
- Doing ethnographic fieldwork: collecting data through, for example, participant observation and interviews (some preliminary fieldwork is often done at an earlier stage too)
- Analysing the data: making sense of the picture through the 'lens' of anthropological theories, testing hypotheses
- Finding answers: drawing conclusions from the research
- Disseminating the findings: writing texts, giving presentations, making films, or producing other outputs, such as exhibitions
- Participating in international conversations: adding input to wider debates on research questions, contributing to theoretical development.

And often ...

- Making recommendations: advising policy and decision makers, research users
- Following through: assisting the implementation of the findings
- Evaluating: conducting further research on the effects of this implementation.

As this list suggests, anthropological research produces outcomes in several potential directions: towards theoretical developments within the discipline, and into practical recommendations for research users. It also illustrates the important feedback relationship between theory and practice, underlining the artificiality of the division between 'theoretical' and 'applied' work.

This division is equally artificial in defining people's career identities. As noted above, anthropologists' careers frequently involve a mixture of teaching/ university posts and other roles, and most have research interests that engage with issues far removed from any kind of 'ivory tower'. Typically, anthropologists' websites or lists of publications (including those found on university web pages) describe a range of work, some of which could readily be described as 'applied' and some of which is more obviously focused on contributing to theoretical debates. They also reveal an extraordinary diversity of interests: a profession investigating a host of intriguing questions about human behaviour in an equally varied range of groups.

Anthropology is not only fascinating but also rather addictive. Many people start by studying a bit of anthropology but then find they want to go on. That is more or less what happened to me: after more than a decade of working as a freelance writer and researcher in various parts of the world, I was sufficiently intrigued by a stint in the Australian outback to spend a year doing a master's course in anthropology. A doctorate, several teaching posts and numerous research projects later, it remains endlessly absorbing.

This raises a question as to why there are not more people doing anthropology. After all, there are plenty of souls with incurable curiosity, the flexibility to work with different cultures and ideas, and enough patience to do in-depth research. A major obstacle is that, despite a short-lived attempt to establish an anthropology 'A' Level, anthropology is not generally taught in schools, so most people don't come into contact with it (Ford 2016). This leaves them with only the stereotypes to consider, and part of the problem with those (quite apart from the fact that they are inaccurate and outdated), is that they don't seem to point either to potential careers in anthropology, or to many 'practical' uses of anthropological research.

So this book is intended to show that anthropology can lead to a vast choice of careers, and that it has an equally diverse range of potential applications. I have divided the material into some broad areas, but these are fairly arbitrary and there is considerable overlap and flow between them. In each area, however, the purpose of anthropological research remains constant: to gain a real understanding of a particular social reality, its beliefs, values and practices, and to communicate this understanding across cultural and sub-cultural boundaries.

#### 10 Introduction

#### Note

1 The Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth regularly updates its ethical code, which can be found here: https://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.html

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